

Introduction

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This collection of essays arose out of our perception that as the field of women and gender issues in development has expanded and grown more complex, it may be losing its momentum. We invited several people to use their research and experience to reflect on where they think the field is today and where it is going. We looked for authors from a variety of roles, from scholars and policy makers to advocates and those who do fieldwork in specific sectors. We sought perspectives from different regions, including Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and from men as well as women. Some of our writers accept, if they do not champion, globalization; others are quite critical of it.

This volume offers a rich menu of views. It is appearing at a time when the international political system is being rapidly restructured, with important implications for multilateral approaches, development models, and resource flows. We are no longer living in a "post-Cold War" world, which was characterized by the unquestioned dominance of neoliberal economics and a rising wave of democratization.¹ The debt crisis of the 1980s gave the Western industrialized countries the leverage to push for economic reforms in many regions of the world, including policies that reduced the role of the state and increased trade and investment, promoting "free markets" to stimulate growth. The so-called Washington Consensus in favor of structural adjustment reforms had the positive effect of reducing inflation in many cases and increasing capital flows, but the negative effect

of cutting government spending on social and infrastructure investment, with long-term implications for human security as well as economic competitiveness. Neoliberal reforms also produced an active antiglobalization movement, and the Consensus itself has developed cracks, as is evident, for example, in the harsh criticisms of the International Monetary Fund by former Chief Economist of the World Bank Joseph Stiglitz (2002).

Using the "war on terror" as a rationale, the United States during George W. Bush's administration has promoted "regime change," a process that contrasts starkly with the transitions from authoritarianism that occurred globally from the late 1970s to the late 1990s. These earlier transitions were encouraged by a receptive international environment but were largely driven by internal forces.² Since September 11, U.S. unilateralism has undercut multilateral institutions and practices that had been painstakingly constructed over several decades, including a key role for the United Nations in setting international norms, resolving global issues, promoting development, and preventing war.

Globalization and restructuring have imposed disproportionate costs on women, but other aspects of multilateralism have brought positive changes. The worldwide emergence of women's movements, widespread efforts to implement programs to improve women's access to material resources, and the incorporation of women's rights into international law took place during the last three decades in the political space created by the UN Decade for Women (1975-85) and sustained momentum through the Fourth World Conference in Beijing (1995) and beyond. Women's activism influenced UN conferences on issues ranging from human rights, population, and habitat to sustainable development. A reversal of the global trend toward multilateralism will surely undermine these advances. If it continues unchecked, the increasing militarization of international politics could have severe consequences for women's lives and will further divert attention from the pressing issues of improved equity and greater human security.

The U.S. response to the attacks of September 11 includes an argument for increased foreign assistance (on the grounds that poverty is among the "root causes" of terrorism, for example), the U.S.-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq and the increasingly controversial efforts to stabilize and democratize them have created a demand for solutions that can be put into place rapidly. Co-optation has been an issue for women in the South who fear that funding from governments and foundations in the North sets their agendas. Co-optation may become a more pressing issue for Northern experts and nongovernmental organizations

(NGOs) as the United States and its allies use the issue of women's rights to buttress its case for intervention, whatever the consequences may be for women in countries where support for traditional gender roles has become a badge of national and religious resistance to Western-style modernization.³

These changes in U.S. policies and in the international system pose problems not only for women in Afghanistan and Iraq. The post-9/11 world is a precarious time to do development work. The essays in this volume address the broader issues of women and gender, development and globalization that need rethinking as we move into this uncharted territory. We hope this book will provoke renewed attention to these issues and new energy to seek more effective strategies for the future.

CREATIVE TENSIONS?

The field of women/gender and development has grown rapidly over the last three decades, producing multidisciplinary research and providing the basis for gender-sensitive policies in many public and private institutions, including multilateral and bilateral foreign assistance agencies. Efforts to address women's marginalization have also had to confront persistent bureaucratic resistance. Among the major debates within the field are the conflict between *women in development* (WID) versus *gender and development* (GAD); between those who think poverty is an appropriate focus to reach women and those who find it a "trap"; between gender rhetoric and bureaucratic foot-dragging; and between the theories of researchers and policy analysts and the needs of practitioners. Some are convinced that women can be reached through "mainstreaming" donor projects and programs; others think the focus on "gender" has weakened organizing by and for women.

There is widespread agreement that the market alone does not serve women well, but few have addressed the issue of how to strengthen states to regulate markets or how to confront the corruption that has proven endemic in emerging democracies. There are those who think globalization is inevitable and must be regulated and those who think that the only viable feminist position is to join the antiglobalization movements that have shown their ability to organize effective demonstrations in Seattle, Genoa, Cancun, and elsewhere (see Mohanty 2003).

Postcolonial writers have challenged the assumptions of development theory and practice in ways that are relevant to women, fueling conflicts between universalism and pluralism and producing a new focus on transnational identities.

Some see the rise of civil societies, both local and global, as promising arenas of women's empowerment, yet others insist that a strong and capable state remains critical to women's concerns. The rise of women's grassroots movements during the past few decades is unprecedented. Yet some fear that NGOs may not be sufficiently democratic, representative, or autonomous to represent women's interests and argue that decentralization can reinforce local power hierarchies rather than challenge them. There are contradictions between the promises of neoliberal reform and the realities of most people's lives, often seen in the impatience of voters who can now express their frustrations through the ballot box. These stresses can be mapped onto the increasingly visible tension between development models that focus on economic growth and those that emphasize human capabilities and human security. Meanwhile, gender analysis from different interventions—for example, in forestry, information technology, and the privatization of state assets, to name three included in this volume—are rarely connected to one another or systematically linked to broader trends and policy goals.

There has been surprisingly little discussion of how to approach gender and development in increasingly violent, culturally politicized environments. We would argue that since September 11 and the invasion of Iraq, human security has become even more important as an alternative approach to development. In contrast to the traditional emphasis on military security, the concerns of human security center on health, livelihood, housing and land, environment, and freedom from violence within the home and community.⁴

These debates are engaged by many of the essays in this book. We hope that they will help spur new thinking and action.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

The book is divided into three sections reflecting the three main themes of the volume: institutions, resources, and mobilization.

Institutions: Opportunities and Barriers

The essays in the first section focus on institutional issues.⁵ Jane Jaquette and Kathleen Staudt begin with a historical overview of the evolution of the field beginning with their own experience as policy analysts at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) in the late 1970s. They discuss the rise of WID and the emergence of GAD, showing how each responded to major shifts in the international system, from the North-South dialogue of the 1970s, to the re-

newed Cold War and Washington Consensus of the 1980s, the post-Cold War 1990s, and U.S. unilateralism since 9/11. Noting that GAD "fatigue" may be setting in, they call for new ideas and alliances and suggest these will have to begin by stepping back from earlier debates and rethinking women's relations to markets, civil society, and the state.

Elisabeth Prügl and Audrey Lustgarten take up the issue of mainstreaming, a GAD initiative introduced to induce bureaucracies to take up the issue of women across the board. Noting that gender mainstreaming has been adopted by governments and donor agencies all over the world, they discuss how several UN agencies defined and tried to implement mainstreaming. In their view, mainstreaming has largely been co-opted, and efforts to implement the concept "turned a radical movement idea into a strategy of public management" by emphasizing processes rather than outcomes. They observe that evaluations still uncover the kinds of problems that mainstreaming was supposed to overcome.

David Hirschmann focuses on the difficulties of translating gender rhetoric, which is widely accepted by donors, into gender equity in practice. A consultant to USAID, the World Bank, and other donor agencies, Hirschmann recounts how things change but remain the same. In the 1980s, when he visited projects to assess their gender impact, he was directed to the "home economics" people. By the 1990s, he was told to go talk to "the sociologists," although it was clear that the economists had the power. Hirschmann concludes that the macroeconomic priorities of foreign assistance agencies such as USAID and the World Bank make it very difficult to raise concerns about women and other marginalized groups.

Sylvia Chant examines how a gender perspective can inform an analysis of poverty, which remains a priority for foreign assistance agencies. Cecile Jackson (1998) and others have argued that poverty is a "trap" on the grounds that it takes women-headed households as a proxy for poor women. But women may be just as poor in intact households if they do not control their own incomes and, on the other side, many women-headed households are doing well economically. Reviewing early women in development approaches, neoliberal restructuring, and women's "empowerment" efforts, Chant argues that research indicates that women's capacity to *command* and *allocate* resources is equally or perhaps more important than women's power to *obtain* resources. Women may actually choose to give up material resources in order to gain control of their own lives. Women invest more in their children, and data on younger generations in female-headed households "frequently reveal comparable, if not greater (and less gender-biased)